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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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succession of wet and dry seasons.[1] In March, after four months without rain, the fields are burned; the pastures are sere. There has been no work to do in the fields. The dust and the drought, and the inactivity, impose a mood of depression upon the people, which culminates in the taboos of Holy Week. In spring, with the first rains, the hills are suddenly clothed with green and the air is soft and wet. As the face of the town changes, so are men's countenances reanimated. Work begins in the *milpas;* the fruit trees commence to bear again; life is on the rise.

This year-long cadence is broken into minor periods by the occurrence of the many festivals. Benefiting by two traditions characterized by many calendric festivals—the elaborate ceremonial calendar of the Indians and the many saints' days of South European Catholicism—the Mexican folk enjoy a great number of festivals which are in part worship but in greater part play. On probably one-third of all the days of the year somewhere in the valley of Tepoztlán there is going on traditional calendric ritual, although on many of these days it may be no more than the playing of the *chirimía* on the roof of some chapel.

Certain of these festivals, now of course entirely determined by the dates of the Christian calendar, are the most important events of the year to the average Tepoztecan. In the anticipation of and preparation

[1] An attempt is made in the following chapter to give an account of this annual cycle, at once astronomical, economic, and ritual, as well as a matter of public mood.

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535 *parsas*, men from the upper *barrios*, mask themselves
[292] in any rags they can obtain, and follow after the *Chinelos*, leaping too.

Later each night a dance is held in the schoolroom, and those men who know how dance with women friends and relatives from Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

March 7, 8, and 9 (about).—These three days form the *octava* of the carnival. They furnish three more afternoons of leaping, of band music, of ices and lemonades and *pozole*. The interest of the passive observers never flags, and each day at three o'clock the *Chinelos* begin again to whoop and leap down to the *plaza*.

March 14, 15, and 16 (about).—The following week-
[648] end the carnival is celebrated in Yautepec. Many from Tepoztlán attend, including the *Chinelos* who still have appetite for more hours of *brincando* in their heavy satin garments.

• 221 An ebb of interest and energy follows the carnival.
*[796] The *fiesta* has drained money and strength. Before lie the quite different moods of Holy Week. The dry season is far advanced; dust is thick on the roads; the yards are burned yellow and stiff; the upper pastures on the slopes of the hills glow with low flame and heavy orange smoke night after night where the dry grass has been fired. People keep to themselves, wrapped by a mood of depression and discouragement.

[241] The agricultural cycle has reached its nadir. It is still too early to prepare the *milpas*. A few who have

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ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *claculoles*.[1] During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

Holy Tuesday,[2] *Martes Santo.*—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

[1] *Tlacololli:* pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

[2] Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

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It is still too early to work in the *milpas* in Tepoztlán, but up above, at the village of San Juan, the maize is already being planted. In Tepoztlán, men are hewing beams to make new plows or to repair old ones.

May 7.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of San Miguel, for tomorrow is a minor *fiesta* of that *barrio* (the apparition of St. Michael). But little is done to celebrate it, for it is overshadowed by the very important *fiesta* of the village of Ixcatepec, which begins on the same day.

May 8.—This is the first and most important day of the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec. Of all the *fiestas* of *santos*, that of Ixcatepec is probably the most important, although the village is a very small one. For its celebration an organization is formed to include all the *barrios* in the valley. One or two *mayordomos* of these *barrios* and villages undertake to supply the candles to be burned on one of the eight days of the *fiesta*. One of the days is in charge of a village not of the valley. An event of the first day of the *fiesta* is the arrival of the people of this village, Milpa Alta, in the state of Mexico. Every year they come, perhaps a hundred of them, carrying their *santo*.[1] They come to celebrate their *fiesta* with that of Ixcatepec because they regard their *santo* as the same as that of Ixcatepec. They march into the church and place their image on the altar beside the other.

The altar is lit with many candles decorated with

[1] But the year of this study, on account of public insecurity and the religious difficulties, they did not come.

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821 776 [172] [301] them from the sky. They covet gold; now that the rains have begun and the voices of the *ahuahque* are frequently heard, women who most fear them take off their gold earrings for fear that the *ahuahque* might strike them dead so as to take the jewels.

243 [221] People are busy now, and contented. There is work for all the men in the *milpas*. The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very stony earth there are a few steel plowshares. Oxen, less commonly horses or mules, draw the plow. By now the corn is a foot high up at San Juan, but in Tepoztlán a hotter sun demands that the maize be planted after the rains have come. By the middle of June most of the *milpas* are planted. At San Juan the grain is [184] dropped into holes made with a pointed stick. In Tepoztlán it is dribbled along in furrows; afterward the earth is heaped up around the young plant with the *coa*, the flat hoe with a curved blade.

*796 [533] *June 15.*—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the Templo Mayor because tomorrow is the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi.

[439] [484] *In May or June.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi, *Jueves de corpos*. Some go to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca to buy little *burros* made of straw bearing crates of fruits and sweets.

[776] *July 22.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the hamlet of Amatlán. (This is the saint day of Mary Magdalene, patron of this village.)

[535] *July 25.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the village of Santiago. *Los Apaches* dance at both these *fiestas*.

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243 438 435 scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuartillo*.

By the third week in December the fields below the 221 town are still and empty. The last loads carried by 244 the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among 231 the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later, the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane.

*796 There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas 177 *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses, particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish influence is strongest and where there may be a little money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*. Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to 439 Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The 484 women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to hold candies and peanuts.

868 It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza* 533 that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pastores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are seated on the ground learning the songs from a *maestro* who is the repository of this local tradition.

794 The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the 782 chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored 439 tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now

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857 868 near by, carry a small can of water or corn dough, or chase the chickens from the garden.

At the age of six, many children are sent alone to the corn mill or to the plaza to buy small articles. At seven, they may be required to take care of a younger brother or sister after school hours. Some differentiation between sexes in connection with work begins at about age six, when boys protest doing a girl's work and mothers tend to avoid assigning such tasks. But most small boys continue to do tasks for their mother at home for several years and are expected to obey her orders. At about age six, boys occasionally accompany their fathers to the fields. They look forward to this, and the first trip is an important occasion in their lives. Small boys [241] are not expected to work in the fields but may help in weeding, watching the animals and tools, gathering wood for the fire, and in running errands. From about [264] eight years of age, many boys regularly carry the noon meal to their father in the fields and are required to help with the weeding and cultivation.

As boys get older, their principal work is to pasture the animals and to guard [233] them from being lost or stolen. This work is usually done alone but sometimes two brothers or cousins of about the same age go together. The boys are required to rise early, take the animals to pasture before school, and bring them home after [872] school. Boys are frequently kept out of school to watch the animals or do some other work. From about ten years of age, boys join their fathers and brothers in the [241] field daily to learn the work of a farmer. By the time a boy is fifteen he generally can drive a plow and go through all the necessary steps in planting and harvesting. Most boys enjoy this work and are eager to become farmers. At home, boys of fifteen or so usually haul water, water the plants, take care of large animals, provide firewood, pick fruit, and help shell corn.

Girls generally begin to help their mothers in a serious way at about age seven by taking care of younger children, sweeping, washing dishes, picking up the *petates*, putting away things, and feeding the chickens. Most girls are eager to learn to cook, grind corn, and make tortillas; they begin to learn at age five or six by imitat- [252] ing their mothers. By the time a girl is nine she is generally quite skillful at these [296] tasks and can also cook beans, rice, and prepare coffee. At ten years of age, most girls are expected to wash and mend their own clothes and those of the baby of the family. A girl of thirteen frequently can do all the work of a woman except wash and iron large articles and cook more complicated dishes; this she begins to do at [294] fifteen. Few girls are able to cut out and sew clothing before marriage, although it is one of the necessary skills.

BY SEASON

221 The seasonal division of labor follows quite closely the succession of wet and dry seasons. In plow culture, the agricultural cycle begins with the coming of the first rains, generally in May. In hoe culture, the preparation of the land begins in the dry season between January and February. In September and October the plum harvest engages most families, and then in December the corn harvest begins.

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After the harvest many Tepoztecans leave for the haciendas, returning to the village and their families only once a week. Those who prefer to remain at home spend their time in making charcoal, cutting wood, making rope, or taking up one of the many part-time occupations available.

BY OCCUPATION

Tepoztlán is a community of peasants, merchants, and artisans, but it is essentially agricultural, and over ninety per cent of the gainfully employed are farmers. The occupation of farming has high status in the village, and the young men look forward to being farmers. Farming is not the sole occupation, but is combined in various ways with other gainful activities.

There are at least twenty-six non-agricultural occupations in Tepoztlán, with a total of 273 individuals engaged in them. The largest groups include storekeepers (20), teachers (21), masons (25), bakers (23), *curanderos* and midwives (28), and ropemakers (42). The next largest group consists of butchers (15), barbers (15), corn merchants (13), charcoal makers (13), tile and brickmakers (12), and employees of the bus line (17). In addition there are shoemakers (5), carpenters (9), ironworkers (3), *chirimiteros*[1] (6), *huehuechiques*[2] (2), fireworks makers (6), mask makers (6), *mágicos* (1), silver workers (2), millers (3), druggists (2), chauffeurs (6), and plumbers (2). (See Table 19.)

It should be noted that 186 individuals, or 68 per cent of the 273 engaged in the above occupations, own their own milpas. This incidence of land-ownership is nearly twice the incidence of land ownership in the village as a whole, and indicates that the artisans and those with special occupations tend to be in a better economic position. Most of the artisans and merchants fall into the middle economic group of the village.[3]

Fifty-three of the 273 individuals engaged in these occupations are women, who are found in only six of the twenty-six occupations and are distributed as follows: storekeepers (5), teachers (10), butchers (4), bakers (2), *curanderos* and midwives (23), corn merchants (9). It can be seen that women predominate in teaching, curing, and as corn merchants. However, in the latter they are the smaller operators. Also, the few men who engage in curing enjoy greater prestige than the women in this field.

The occupations listed above represent a peculiar mixture of the old and new. Some, like the *chirimiteros, huehuechiques, curanderos,* masons, mask makers, charcoal makers, and ropemakers, probably had their counterpart in pre-Hispanic days. Others, such as storekeepers, shoemakers, and carpenters, have probably existed in the village since the colonial period. Still others, such as the teachers, bakers,

[1] The men who play the traditional music on the chapel roofs at fiestas in celebration of the saints. They use a primitive wind instrument called the *chirimía.*

[2] The men who know the traditional Náhuatl words and ritual in the ceremonies which form part of the fiestas for the saints.

[3] See Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 173.

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466 would rather go hungry than go about the village asking for work. Also, some of
[465] the younger men are sensitive about asking for their wages, and often the mother will collect the wages for her sons.

When a farmer needs a hired hand he will usually try to get a relative, frequently an uncle or nephew; or he will ask his neighbor or *compadre*. If no one is available within this rather close and intimate circle he may seek no further. As a result, we
[464] sometimes find the curious situation whereby some individuals complain of a labor shortage while others may have no work.

464 The peak wage labor season is from May to August when corn is being planted
[221] and cultivated, and from December to January for the harvest. During these periods there is sometimes a real labor shortage which leads to some mutual labor exchanges. It is estimated that a few hundred Tepoztecans work as day laborers during the busy season. At the most there are about four months of wage labor during the year. The landless may work as *peones* during the entire period or they may work part-time in *tlacolol*. The small landowners will also work as *peones* to get some extra cash. Thus some are employers of labor for a short time and are then, in turn, wage laborers for someone else.

465 Wages have gone up considerably in Tepoztlán during the past twenty years and are much higher than in other villages like Tzintzuntzan, Mitla, or Chan Kom. The reason is the proximity to large urban centers and the haciendas which pay relatively high wages to attract labor. But the rise in wages has not kept up with the rise in prices of many basic commodities.

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TABLE 28. Distribution of Ownership of Plows, Oxen, and Land, 1944.

Barrio	Families Owning Plows	Families Owning Oxen	Families Owning Land
San Miguel	48	44	83
Santo Domingo	70	50	61
La Santísima	36	32	62
Santa Cruz (large)	14	14	44
Los Reyes	23	21	30
San Sebastián	8	6	11
Santa Cruz (small)	8	6	10
San Pedro	6	6	10
Tepoztlán	213	179	311

TABLE 29. Cost of Oxen, Rental of Oxen, and Wages.

Year	Cost of Oxen[a]	Rental of Oxen per Day (With Driver)	Rental of Oxen per Three Months		Wages of *Peón* per Day
			In Corn[b]	In Pesos	
1926–30	60.00	1.50	6	60.00	50
1936	70.00	2.50	8	75.00	1 00
1940	100.00	3.25	8	125.00	1 25
1942	125.00	4.00	7	150 00	1 50
1943	200.00	5 00	7	150 00	1 50 2 00
1944 (April)	400.00	6.00	7	170 00	2 50 3 00
1944 (July)	400.00	7.50 10 00	7	200 00	3 00 3 50

[a] Cost in Guerrero.
[b] By 100 *cuartillos*.

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

The work cycle of plow culture in Tepoztlán is in four stages: preparation of the land, planting, cultivation, and harvest.

Preparation of Land: In discussing the preparation of the land, we must distinguish between breaking new land, or land that has been idle for a number of years, and preparing land that was under cultivation the year before. In the former case the process is referred to as the *barbecho* (breaking of new land); in the latter as *los tres arados* (the three plowings). The system of plowing used in each case differs considerably. Some Tepoztecans begin their first *barbecho* in the dry or slack season, generally in March. However, at this time the earth is parched and hard, and plowing is difficult and slow. For this reason, farmers prefer to break new land during the rainy season, generally in August, in preparation for the following year. If the weeds are tall and strong they are cut with a machete, piled up to dry, and are burned.[6] It takes a man about three days to clear a heavily

[6] The most stubborn weeds are known as *zacate chino*. These have deep roots and if the field is heavily weeded it is necessary to plow in January and again in March. The older men say that this weed came in after the Revolution.

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243 weeded field of one hectare. Whenever possible the weeds are plowed under to improve the fertility of the soil. The steel plow is used in the *barbecho*, and the land is plowed in one continuous furrow to make a concentric rectangular form.

If the field is large, it may be divided into two or three parts, each of which is plowed in the same fashion. The land is always plowed at right angles to the direction in which the rows of corn are to be planted, so that the rows can be kept straight. Tepoztecans pride themselves on having straight rows of corn, and farmers [461] will compete with one another to see who can plow the straightest. One man with a single team of oxen can plow on an average of about two *cuartillos* a day. If time permits, two *barbechos* will be given; the second is always done soon after the first rains, toward the end of May or early in June.

In the case of *los tres arados* which is used in preparing a field that has been in cultivation the previous year,[1] the steel plow is also used, and the plowing follows the old corn beds and furrows. The plow is placed just to the right of the old cornstalks, and the earth is turned to the right. This is called the *primer arado* (first plowing). When the oxen reach the end of the furrow they are turned, and the same process is followed on the adjoining corn bed, so that a new mound of earth is formed where the furrow was before. This is called the *segundo arado* (second plowing). In both the first and second plowing a short yoke is used, and [492] the oxen walk in the furrows on either side of the corn bed. The plow driver walks to the left of the bed, holds the plow with his right hand, and directs the oxen with his left. The *tercer arado* (third plowing) goes through the center of the corn bed. The third plowing forms part of the process of planting.

243 *Planting:* This generally begins a few days after the ground has been plowed, preferably when the earth is humid. But it is important to note that in Tepoztlán 221 there is a great deal of leeway in the time of planting. A few days or even a few weeks make very little difference in the net results. Corn can be planted any time between June 1 and July 25 with a fairly good chance of getting a crop. Tepoztecans, [461] therefore, follow no rigid work cycle. Of approximately four hundred farmers who may plant corn with plow and oxen in any one year, no more than a third begin their work immediately after the first rains. The reasons for this are varied. Many own neither land nor oxen and may be delayed in making arrangements for renting, in preparing their tools, plows, and yokes; others may still be busy selling wood and charcoal; still others may be delayed by illness or death in the family. It is a common sight in Tepoztlán to see corn at various stages of growth during the rainy season.

243 The selection of seed for planting is generally done soon after the harvest in January, when the finest ears of corn are set aside to be shelled later in May or 242 June, just before planting. Three types of corn are used in plow culture, *ancho*

[433] [461] [1] Some use the *barbecho* on land that has been cultivated the year before, and then follow with *los tres arados*. This gives a better yield but involves at least three additional days of work for a plot of twenty *cuartillos* or approximately two hectares. Only the best farmers, about ten per cent, do this.

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holdings, and *tlacolol* is approximately as follows: 36 per cent of all families operate private land; 31 per cent operate *ejido* parcels; and 20.9 per cent operate *tlacolol*. Since both *ejido* and private parcels employ plow culture, it is evident that the *tlacololeros* constitute by far the smallest group. Hoe culture is secondary in importance to plow culture from the point of view of the number of families engaged in each. This is seen even more clearly when we recall that all but 96 of the *tlacololero* families had an *ejido* parcel, a private milpa, or both. However, *tlacolol* is still very important in the total economy of the village.

One of the most striking differences between the two systems is the much greater amount of time necessary in hoe culture. It will be seen from Table 38 that it takes approximately two-thirds more man-days to produce one hectare of corn in *tlacolol* than it does in plow culture. As we have seen, the single job of weeding by hand takes more time than all three cultivations with plow. The great difference in the total time spent in preparation of the land is also noteworthy. The somewhat longer time period for harvesting and transport is due to the greater distances of *tlacolol* fields from the village and the larger relative production of the *tlacolol* milpas. It should be noted that fencing the *tlacolol*, which is so time-consuming, has to be repeated each time a new *tlacolol* is opened—in contrast with the permanent stone fences of private milpas and *ejidos*.

TABLE 38. Comparison of Time Spent in Production of Corn in Plow and Hoe Culture.

Operation	Man-Days Spent on Plot of One Hectare	
	Plow Culture	Hoe Culture (*Tercal*)
Preparation of the land	8.0	60
Planting	2.8	16
Cultivation	14.0	30
Harvest	15.0	12
Transporting corn	3.0	10
Shelling Corn	5.0	15
Total	47.8	143

In addition to the differences in the actual time spent there is a corresponding difference in the nature of the work. Tepoztecans who have worked in both types consider work in *tlacolol* infinitely more exhausting than work in plow culture. The *tlacololeros* are in a sense perpetual pioneers who are always making new clearings in the forest. Also, weeding by hand is very difficult and leaves welts for days on the hands of the toughest *tlacololero*. It is said in the village that a *tlacololero* is known by his hands.

Another very important point is the difference in time pressure demanded by each system of agriculture. On the whole there is much less time pressure in *tlacolol*. A man can clear his land anytime between January and April. He can work for a few days at clearing, spend a few days doing some other job, and then return to

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243 461 221 clearing. After planting there is also considerable leeway before the first and only weeding. This is not the case in plow culture. Although there is considerable leeway in the time of planting, once planting has been done, the cultivations must follow soon after at regular intervals or the yields will be cut appreciably. Furthermore, there is need to take advantage of dry days when the ozen can get into the field.

The differences between the work cycles of the two systems are shown in Chart 2.

CHART 2. Comparison of Work Cycles in Plow and Hoe Culture, 1944.

PLOW CULTURE	MONTH	HOE CULTURE
	JANUARY	Clear land with machete and ax.
	FEBRUARY	Clear land with machete and ax.
No work in fields.	MARCH	No work.
	APRIL	Burning brush. Fencing, seeding.
Clearing land, plowing and seeding.	MAY	Burning brush. Fencing, seeding.
	JUNE	Reseeding.
First cultivation.	JULY	Reseeding.
Second cultivation. Third cultivation.	AUGUST	Weeding.
Visits to field.	SEPTEMBER	Visits to field.
Weeding.	OCTOBER	Visits to field.
Stripping corn stalks.	NOVEMBER	Visits to field.
Harvesting and transporting corn.	DECEMBER	Harvesting and transporting corn.

It will be seen that the agricultural year begins at different times in each case. The *tlacololeros* begin work very soon after the harvest and work through the larger part of the dry season, while the farmers of plow culture let their land rest, except for a relatively few farmers who plow new land in January or March. The fact that [184] different farm families in the same village are engaged in different activities during the same season of the year adds to the complexity of village life. Here again, the picture of homogeneity in activities which is so often associated with so-called folk cultures has to be modified. Most *tlacololeros* are through planting before planting [464] begins in plow culture, and many accept work as peons in plow culture. However, during late July and early August the peak labor season for plow culture finds *tlacololeros* busy in their own fields. Similarly, harvest comes at the same time in both systems and it is at this time that there is a labor shortage in the village. Many Tepoztecans have described this overlapping of work cycles as a conflict of interests between *tlacololeros* and milpa owners, for the latter are unable to get sufficient hired help.

243 433 A comparison of the yields of the two types of agriculture reveals that hoe culture yields are equal to the best yields in plow culture and are generally about twice as high as the average yields of plow culture. These larger yields make hoe

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that cattle stealing increases markedly before important fiestas, particularly before the Carnaval in February, the fiesta of Ixcatepec in April, the celebration of the national holidays in August, and All Saints' Day on November first. Cattle thieves are shot on sight, and each year a few are killed.

It is estimated that the families who own considerable cattle spend approximately 140 days during the year in caring for them. A rough estimate of the distribution of the time, based on interviews with a few cattle owners, follows:

Month	*Days Spent Guarding Cattle*
January	8
February	8
March	8
April	12
May	12
June	4
July	4
August	15
September	30
October	31
November	4
December	4
Total	140

Although cattle and other livestock are an important supplementary source of income, animal ownership is on a small scale and is limited to a relatively small proportion of families. Table 39 presents the distribution of cattle, oxen, horses, mules, donkeys, and hogs among families in each of the barrios.

It can be seen that only 179, or 21 per cent, of the families own cattle. Well over 50 per cent of these families own between one and three cows; about 40 per cent own four to ten cows. The largest herd in 1943 was a little over seventy head, although estimates obtained in 1947 showed much larger herds, with the two wealthiest cattlemen having about 150 head each. There are only about a dozen men in the village who might be said to raise cattle on a large scale, and only six of these have herds of over fifty.

The ownership of oxen is limited to 177, or 20 per cent of the families. Of these, only two families own more than one team of oxen. The low percentage of families owning a team of oxen indicates the limited extent to which Tepoztecan farmers own one of the basic means of production.

The distribution of horses, donkeys, and mules owned by families in the proportions of 28 per cent, 11 per cent, and 14 per cent, respectively, reflects the local evaluation of work animals. Mules are more popular than donkeys, and horses are valued more highly than either. Riding horses as against work horses are considered